

During the last few months there were many reports in the world press with regard to the struggle of the Negro toiling masses against imperialist oppression. In Africa, America and the West Indies, wherever the Negro workers are being ground down by the imperialists, the movement of protest is widening, in some localities turning into open rebellions and uprisings against the exploiters.

Despite the armed forces of the imperialists, despite their armies and navies, the Negro masses are compelled by their insufferable conditions, to challenge their oppressors and to fight them in the unequal battle.

In the Spring of 1929 the French Government finally crushed the Negro rebellion in EQUATORIAL AFRICA which had lasted for more than six months. With the aid of machine guns and bombs the workers were driven back to their hellish work.

In the NATAL PROVINCE (South Africa), the natives are continuing their struggle which, during the last seven months led on two occasions to serious outbursts; in various other sections of the Union native workers have come out on strike to improve conditions. A strike even occurred among the indentured workers at one of the brickkiln plants. This shows that even the compounds and the guards no longer suffice to keep these workers in slavery. It was only when a police squad of 100 armed men arrived on the scene that the capitalists were able to break the resistance of the workers and drive them back to work.

In BARBADOS, one of the Islands in the British West Indies, the local Negro Workers' Union organised a big demonstration when the Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Oliver, recently arrived to "investigate" labor conditions on the sugar plantations.

In GAMBIA, another British colony, the native workers put up a militant fight for the right to organise. The movement was subsequently suppressed by the troops called in by the foreign capitalists.

A collision between the Negroes, the police and the troops also took place in Southern Nigeria, another British Colony. There were 45 killed and many wounded. The reasons for the native rising in this colony are the same as in the other localities, namely, the intolerably high taxation, and exploitation, in this case, of the small peasant, who is compelled to give away his agricultural produce to the capitalist at low prices.

An interesting fact was the way the women participated in the movement. Even the Under-Secretary for Colonies in the House of Commons said that there was quite a large number of women among the rebels who suffered.

In HAITI, more recently there was an armed rising of the native workers against American Imperialism, under whose iron heel this Negro Republic has been groaning for the last 15 years.

There were several big demonstrations in MADAGASCAR against French imperialism, under the slogans "FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE".

But this heroic struggle of the Negro toiling masses of the world is handicapped to a considerable degree by the lack of co-ordination between the various movements and the lack of contact between themselves and with the international labor movement as a whole.

The majority of the Negro masses are still giving their support to those leaders, like the GARVEYS, the CHAMPIONS, the RANDOLPHS, the KADALIES & Co., who are simply tools of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

In the South African Union we still have MR. BALLINGER heading one of the Negro Unions. This individual is a member of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the very same party which together with the Labor Party is responsible for all the crimes perpetrated by MacDonald's Government in the various colonies of the British Empire.

We still find large sections of the Negro workers in the USA endeavouring under the influence of their conservative leaders to gain entry into the reactionary AF of L instead of joining the only real proletarian unions in the United States, embraced by the TRADE UNION UNITY

LEAGUE.

Only when the Negro workers shall have thrown off the treacherous leadership of the fakers, and join the international revolutionary movement of the working class, will they be able to wage a consistent struggle against Imperialism. For it is only in alliance with the international proletariat that the Negro workers will be able to throw off the chains of their exploiters.

The FIRST INTERNATIONAL NEGRO WORKERS' CONGRESS WILL BE CONVENED IN JUNE 1930. This Congress will lay the foundations for the organisation of all the Negro workers on an international scale and will unite the Negro workers' movement with the international revolutionary working class movement. This Congress will open a new page in the history of the age-old struggle of the Negro masses for freedom and emancipation. It will form the beginning of the final decisive struggle against Imperialism to build up a new social order, where there will be neither masters nor slaves, neither rulers nor ruled, where Labor will reign supreme.

J. NEED.

AFRICANS MASSACRED BY BRITISH
IMPERIALISTS

Despite the efforts of the British imperialists to suppress the news of the recent revolt of natives in the Southern Province of Nigeria, West Africa, press despatches reveal the horrible way in which an uprising of Negro workers was put down. A bloody massacre of native Africans, including eighteen unarmed women by British troops occurred in Apoko, Asako and Calabar a few weeks ago when the natives refused to pay an increased tax imposed upon them by the Government.

British and French imperialism are the dominant political powers on the African Continent. These two nations control the largest territories including the bulk of the populations.

France holds sway over 4,100,200 square miles of territory with a population of about 43,550,000; while Great Britain's share amounts to 3,520,274 square miles, inhabited by 30,897,000.

The policy of administration in these territories vary according to certain objective conditions, chiefly climatic. In those regions favourable for colonisation by white men, the administration is entirely in the hands of the European officials,---Governors and Commissioners, who rule over the blacks with the ruthless despotism of colonial czars.

In sections where the climate makes it unfavourable for whites to settle, the Government tends to assume a different form without in any way releasing from the grips of the imperialists a stronghold on the political and economic life of these spheres of influence.

In such cases, the Government is carried on by foreign administrators. This system is known as the Crown Colony form of government, with a limited amount of autonomy for the native rulers, called Paramount Chiefs, who play the role of lackeys for their imperialist masters. Within recent years a thin strata of black petty-bourgeois landlords have come into being, and to these have been granted a few political and social concessions in order to head-off their nationalistic aspirations. All of these classes combine in oppressing the broad masses of workers and peasants.

Nigeria belongs to that type of colony which can be fittingly described a "model" Crown Colony---a jewel in the British crown.

There the Governmental apparatus is entirely in the hands of a Governor, the official representative of finance-capital, who is assisted by a bureaucracy made up of Europeans and middle-class Africans.

Economically, the country is rich in natural resources, with a large population, excellent harbors and navigable waterways.

Although not considered a very unhealthy land, especially along the coast line, Nigeria has never attracted large settlements of Europeans. There are only 5,200 whites, mostly soldiers, administrators, traders and missionaries, out of a population of 20 million blacks. The fact that Nigeria has never been thickly settled by whites to a large extent determined the hard policy that has been pursued in the past. This policy differs to a considerable extent from that followed in the East African colonies, such as Kenya, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, as well as Rhodesia and South Africa. Nevertheless, the British imperialists through their direct agents and sections of the native population have always been able to entrench themselves and as effectively exploit the natural resources of the country and enslave its toiling masses in other parts of Africa.

Because of the size of Nigeria, which covers an area of 335,700 square miles---four times the size of Great Britain, with a population greater than that of the combined populations of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, one can fully appreciate the tremendous importance such a possession is to British Imperialism. Therefore, any ferment among the masses is looked upon by the capitalists as a bad omen---a sign that their days of robbing are numbered.

It is in this fight that we must view the conduct of MacDonald's "Labor" Government---the lackeys of British finance-capital, whose representative in Nigeria ordered the troops to shoot the unarmed Negroes.

In this, the third period of world capitalism, the British bourgeoisie tremble at every upward move of the workers. With the ever-increasing fighting mood of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries and the spirit of revolt permeating the colonial and semi-colonial masses, the entire international Social-Democracy, headed by the British fakers MacDonald and Henderson are more and more on the alert to show their capitalist masters that they can suppress colonial revolt as barbarously as a Chamberlain or Baldwin. The same "Labor Government that murdered the Arabs in Palestine to-day turns its machine-guns on black slaves in Nigeria.

The people of Nigeria are largely peasants who resent the idea of working for white men. Therefore in order to expropriate them, the imperialist government has a systematic program of taxation levied upon huts, land-holdings, and crops. In this way it is hoped to be able to place the natives in such an economic position whereby they will be compelled to sell their land in order to escape taxation. When this has been achieved millions of peasants will be turned into a class of landless proletarians who will be forced to go and work on the plantations, factories and mines for trusts which are reaping millions and millions of dollars annually in developing the tin, manganese, coal and agricultural products such as palm-oil, cotton and cocoa.

At present all the mines are in the hands of British syndicates. For instance, the Nigerian Tin Combine, a subsidiary of the all-powerful Anglo-Oriental Mining Corporation, employs thousands of workers for the "magnificent" sum of 18 to 24 cents per day for ten and twelve hours labor. Capital is also flowing rapidly into construction work, such as the building of railroads, ports, street-car systems, electric and gas plants. The colonial governments assume these loans through British banks which control the steel and electrical industries of England. In order to guarantee the payments of interest on these loans the natives are taxed to the fullest extent which increases the burdens of their lives.

The revolt was a protest by the peasants against the nefarious scheme of land robbery, and because of the peculiar African social system which imposes upon the women the financial burdens of family life, the women were among the vanguard in the struggle.

These militant and courageous women were the ones who organised the demonstrations in the villages and aroused the broad masses of people to protest against British Imperialism.

So enthusiastic was the response to the slogan of "Down with the Imperialist Oppressors" that the entire districts of APOBO and CALABAR were in a state of revolt. The local administrator, known as the Resident, immediately ordered troops from the garrison in the Southern Province and instructed them to shoot into the unarmed crowds of native demonstrators. Forty-five were wounded, eighteen women killed by rifle fire, and ten dead of wounds.

As a result of this dastardly deed carried out by the direct representative of MacDonald's Socialist Government, the entire native population of South-Eastern Nigeria is in a state of ferment. Native and white troops commanded by English officers are in entire control of the APOBO and CALABAR districts, which have the appearance of military areas.

The international proletariat, ESPECIALLY THE WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN MUST CONTINUE TO EXPOSE THE HANGMEN ROLE OF MACDONALD, WHO NOT ONLY "RAILROAD" INDIAN WORKERS IN MEERUT TO GRADUAL DEATH THROUGH INCARCERATION IN COLONIAL DUNGEONS, BUT OPENLY MASSACRE UNARMED BLACK WORKERS WHO DARED TO PROTEST AGAINST THE MOST DASTARDLY AND HIGH-HANDED FORMS OF IMPERIALIST SUBJUGATION IMPOSED UPON THEM BY BRITISH CAPITALISTS.

GEORGE PADMORE.

* *
*

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY IN HAITI

III

The rumblings of the Wall Street crash in New York resounds all over the world and especially in Latin-America as the recent cable information from Haiti proves it.

According to reports of the State Department of the US an armed uprising of Haitian peasants of the city of Jacmel took place December 5. The first thing the rebels did was to cut off the telephone and telegraph wires in order to prevent the bringing home of information to the Powers that be of the Haitian Republic.

The Secretary of State Stimson asserts that the insurrection in Haiti has started in the latter part of October by university students who have developed a strike at that time.

There are also serious uprisings in Los Cayes, an important coffee plantation centre possessed by American interests. Twenty-five American concerns suffered a great deal because of the existing unrest in Haiti.

Haiti is considered as a protectorate of the United States. Hence the American Government acts there as a dominating Power, and the American High Commissioner at Port Au Prince, the capital of Haiti, has enforced Martial Law which as a matter of fact exists there quite a few years.

At Port Los Cayes has occurred a clash between the workers of the city and US marines. The latter fired at the natives killing five and wounding twenty. After this assault the Secretary of State Stimson has deemed it necessary to despatch 500 marines, a cruiser and a few aeroplanes. Thus we see that the US Government is preparing to suppress the Haitian rebellion.

Stimson contemplates to explain the cause of all the uprisings of the different strata of the Haitian population and states that in connection with the coming elections, "political agitators were inciting to further strikes" as a result of which the strike wave is spread throughout the country.

Is this the real cause of the present insurrection in Haiti?

The American Government attempts to obscure the real issue which forced the natives of Haiti, the oppressed Negroes of this Republic,

to uprising and rebel as a matter of fact against the US big capitalist interests, against American imperialists and its lackey, the United States Government.

Let us see what has actually forced the natives of Haiti to rebel.

The Negro Republic of Haiti is one of the countries in the Caribbean Sea, whose economic and strategic importance doomed it as inevitable prey to American aggrandisement.

The importance of the Caribbean region to the United States lies in its proximity, above all in its commercial advantages as a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods.

As a strategic military addition to the Panama Canal it is also of great value to American Imperialism. The opening of the Panama Canal raised the Caribbean to a commanding position among the trade routes of the world. In addition the Caribbean is the gateway to the Panama Canal, the American magnates are trying their best to subdue it to their power and treat it as a vassal region. The strategic importance of the Caribbean has impelled the United States to secure naval footholds in that region. By turning Haiti and Santo Domingo into protectorates, the United States Government has acquired the Mole St. Nicholas in the former, and Samana Bay in the latter, as first class naval bases.

Thus it is not surprising that the US imperialists are greatly interested in Haiti's affairs. As far back as 1847 the United States attempted to obtain control of the harbors of Samana Bay, on the Eastern Coast of Santo Domingo, and of Mole of St. Nicholas, on the Northwest Coast of Haiti, as stated, for avowed use as naval bases. In 1891 the United States sent Admiral Charardi with a considerable fleet to Port au Prince, capital of Haiti, to negotiate for the cession of Mole St. Nicholas, but the Haitian Government refused to discuss the matter and the fleet was recalled.

But the strategical importance of Haiti is not the main thing. The industrial, commercial and financial interests of the U.S. imperialist in Haiti is of still greater import. The policy of the U.S. State Department in Haiti became definite only then, when the National City Bank of New York, the largest and most influential financial enterprise of the country, has entered into Haiti. In 1881 the National Bank of Haiti, founded with French capital, was entrusted with the administration of the Haitian treasury. In 1910 this bank was re-organised in connection with a new government loan taken by French bankers, and replaced by the National bank of the Republic of Haiti, which, like the old institutions, was entrusted with the administration of the Haitian treasury. Under the contract with the French bankers the bank was to make certain annual loans to the Haitian Government.

Soon after this financial operation was performed, the National City Bank became interested in this affair, and Secretary of State Knox, under the Presidency of Taft, pursuing the latter's policy of "dollar diplomacy" intervened in the matter and objected to the contract saying that "some American banking interests ought to be represented." He called a conference of the New York bankers, with the result that in 1911 the National City Bank, Speyer & Co., Hallgarten & Co., and Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., each became subscribers to 2,000 shares of the new bank.

This success of the American bankers required a great struggle for the US imperialists were at that time not as powerful in world financial affairs as they are now, German interests, exceedingly powerful in Haiti at that period both commercially and politically, demanded a large participation in the re-organised bank and opposed American participation. The attitude of the French Government, however, was emphatically against inclusion of German capital without American participation, and the final arrangement, completed in 1910, gave only about 2,500 of the total of 40,000 shares of the National Bank of Haiti, to the "Disconto Gesellschaft" a semi-governmental German institution. About 8,000 shares, as stated above, were held in New York by the four above mentioned prominent banks.

and a few shares in Haiti. The remainder of the stock was held in France.

Shortly after the European War broke out, Secretary of State Bryan, during the Presidency of Wilson, having interviews with the American bankers "suggested---according to reports of Senate Haiti Hearings---the advisability of the American interests acquiring the French shares in the bank, and making it an American bank. The suggestion was repeated from time to time, and after some extended conferences... the National City Bank purchased all the stock held by the other three American parties." This occurred in 1917. Two years later, "after several suggestions from the State Department... the National City Bank purchased all the assets of the French institution for \$1,400,000". Hence the National Bank of Haiti fell into the hands of the largest financial concern of the United States---the National City Bank of New York, i.e., into the hands of the greatest financial interests of the world.

The State Department took upon itself to insure the bankers' investment. On six occasions during 1914 and 1915 the Department made direct proposals to Haiti to obtain control of the customs taking as a pretext the internal political disturbances. In October 1914, Secretary of State Bryan (the same Bryan who during the Presidential elections of 1896, 1900 and 1908 was running as a Presidential candidate issuing anti-imperialist slogans), wrote to President Wilson: "It seemed to me of the first importance that the naval force in Haitian waters should be at once increased, not only for the purpose of protecting foreign interests, but also as evidence of the earnest intention of this Government to settle the unsatisfactory state of affairs which exists." (Foreign Policy Associations, "Seizure of Haiti").

When a revolutionary outbreak occurred in the North Province the State Department took advantage of the situation of that time in order to propose to President Zamor that he would be kept in power if he would sign a treaty turning over the custom houses to American control. The President refused to compromise the independence of Haiti and resigned. On December 10 the newly chosen President was formally presented with an identical proposal by the American Minister in Haiti, and again the proposal was turned down. (Senate Haiti Hearing).

One week later a contingent of United States Marines landed in Port au Prince, proceeded to the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti, and in broad daylight forcibly seized \$500,000 and carried it aboard the gunboat Machias. The money was transported to New York and deposited in the vaults of the National City Bank. This money was, as a matter of fact, the property of the Haitian Government which had deposited it for the redemption of paper currency. Haiti at once protested against this violation of her sovereignty and her property rights and requested explanation from the United States. The latter didn't deem it necessary to respond.

According to the testimony of Roger S. Farnham, Vice President of the National City Bank, before a Senate Committee in 1921, this raid of the marines was arranged by the State Department and the National City Bank. There is no doubt that the State Department contemplated by depriving Haiti of ready money to force its Government to sign a treaty turning over the custom houses to the control of the American Government, which could this way protect the interests of the United States imperialists collecting all the debts imposed upon the Haitian Government by the American financial interests.

On January 28, 1915, Secretary of State Bryan wired via the Navy Department to Admiral Caperton, in command of American forces in Haitian waters, as follows:

"You will issue to that Government a warning that any attempt that might be made to remove the funds of the bank will compel you to take into consideration means to prevent such violation of foreign stockholders' rights."

In March 1915, the United States Government sent a mission to negotiate with the Haitian Government for American control of the customs, and again Haiti turned the proposal down. In May another commission arrived

and presented the draft of an agreement providing for military protection and intervention by the United States Government, for arbitration of claims made by foreigners, for prohibition of the cessions of Mole St. Nicholas, or its use to any other Government. The last clause shows clearly that the Washington Government fulfils the orders of its masters, i.e., the Wall Street magnates with the National City Bank of New York at the head. For Germany, as the US Government had been informed, not only contemplated but had taken preliminary steps towards securing exclusive customs control of Haiti and a naval base at Mole St. Nicholas.

This proposal was being negotiated when on July 27 a revolution broke out in Port au Prince. No doubt that it had been provoked by the Powers that be of Washington and Wall Street as similar methods were used in the case of Panama and Nicaragua. President Guillaume Sam fled to the French Legation, and on the same day a number of political prisoners were massacred in the prison of Port au Prince. On the morning of July 28 President Sam was dragged out of hiding and killed. During all these disturbances not a single American or other foreigner was molested. Nevertheless, on the afternoon of July 28 an American warship dropped anchor in the Harbor of Port au Prince and marines were landed by Admiral Caperton. And all this had been done by the order of the State Department in order to assist the American large capitalist interests in their expansion policy.

The Haitian legislature met to elect a new president to fill the vacancy caused by the assassination of Sam. Under order from the State Department, Admiral Caperton forced the legislature to postpone the election until the American naval officers could canvass the situation. The purpose of this interference with the elections of a nominally independent Republic is shown in the message sent by Admiral Caperton to the Navy Department on August 2, 1915:

"Large number Haitian revolutions, largely due existing professional soldiers called 'Cacos'... They have demanded election Bobo President... Stable Government not possible in Haiti unless Cacos are disbanded and power broken.

"Such action now imperative at Port au Prince if United States desires to negotiate treaty for financial control of Haiti. To accomplish this must have regiment of marines in addition to that of Connecticut... As future relations between United States and Haiti depend largely on course of action taken at this time, earnestly request to be fully informed of policy of United States."

Admiral Caperton now attempted to force, at the point of marine bayonets, the treaty which the State Department and National City Bank had failed to obtain through negotiation and through financial pressure. The first step was to obtain a candidate who would be willing to serve American purposes. Such a candidate was found in the person of Sudre Dartignenave, who offered, if elected President of Haiti, to accede to any terms made by the United States, including the surrender of customs control and the cession of Mole St. Nicholas. Regarding this candidate Admiral Caperton wired the Navy Department at Washington on August 5, that he "has never been connected with any revolution" and "realises Haiti must agree to any terms laid down by the United States... If elected must be sustained by American protection."

Dartignenave was acting not out of choice, but out of a realisation that before the rifles of American marines Haiti was helpless. He begged only "as far as possible to avoid humiliation."

Admiral Caperton, frankly protecting the interests of the National City Bank, ordered the Government of Haiti to restore the treasury service to the National Bank of Haiti, which the Government had withdrawn in January when it discovered that it could not draw money at its own discretion.

On the day on which the Haitian legislature "voted" for the new President, US marines guarded the doors of the chamber and Admiral Caperton

ton's chief-of-staff circulated among the congressmen, imposing upon them the henchman of American Imperialism. Dartigueave was "elected" and acted as a true lieutenant of Wall Street.

We are not in a position to give the full history of the suppression of Haitian people, especially the tellers of this country, by American imperialism. Since that time US capitalism prevails not only in financial affairs but also in industrial, commercial and agricultural pursuits of Haiti. The United States Government is as a matter of fact ruling Haiti, dictating and controlling each step the Haitian people are contemplating to undertake.

Such a state of affairs had its influence upon all the strata of population provoking them to resistance. The present uprisings are, no doubt, a sequel of the oppression of a nation depriving it of any opportunity to determine its own destiny. Especially this oppression is felt by the poor peasants and agricultural workers who are exploited by the American capitalists applying their methods of intensive work in a country with a tropical climate.

The present rebellion in Haiti is a sign of time showing that the Latin-American countries are not willing to stand the political and economic oppression of the American imperialists.

The duty of the Profintern and the Comintern is to aid the revolutionary elements in Haiti in organising in the first place the agricultural wage earners. They are the most exploited workers in Latin-America as the US plantation owners are the most ruthless exploiters in the world. The poor peasants also should not be neglected for they are treated as peons.

J. WILENKI

* *
*

THE STRIKE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN GAMBIA

A very serious movement sprang up among the workers in Gambia, a small British Colony on the West African Coast. As a matter of fact, Gambia, with its population of 200,000 natives and 200 whites is the domain of the PERMAIN CO., a branch of the International Lever Margarine Trust. Last summer the workers in Bathurst, the chief town of the colony, decided to organize a union to struggle for decent living and working conditions. Of course, the fact that a union should have been organised, and mind you, by former Negro slaves, could not be tolerated for one moment by the representatives of "democratic" Britain, who even at home, in "free" England, are not slow to put through anti-trade union laws. Last October the manager of the Company in Bathurst demanded that all the workers leave the union within 72 hours. The workers decided to strike for the recognition of their right to organise.

The local authorities immediately proclaimed martial law in the town. Troops patrolled the streets and made no bones about using their bayonets whenever they saw a few people collect together. Despite the general reign of terror the workers continued the strike for more than one month, while more troops had to be called in to suppress the "disturbance" in the town.

Very instructive was the conduct of the so-called Labor Government, and especially Sidney Webb, the historian of British Trade Unionism, now the noble Lord PASSFIELD, His Majesty's Secretary for Colonies. Despite the fact that information had arrived in London at the end of October that the manager had presented an ultimatum to the workers and that a telegram arrived on November 15 that the troops and the police had run amok in Bathurst, were attacking the local population, the Government paid no attention at all to these events. Indeed, answering a question in the House of Commons, the Colonial Minister said that he knew nothing at all about the

events referred to and that in general the whole affair was so trifling that he had no intention of making any inquiries at all.

There is no doubt that this first collision with organized capital will end in defeat for the workers of Bathurst, but their movement will not only prove a big factor in raising their own class consciousness, but will expose to the working class throughout the world the true character of the present Labor Government and the leaders of the Labor Party of Great Britain.

J. REED.

PERSECUTIONS IN CUBA

A recent communication from Cuba reports another foul murder by the agents of MACHADO, the Dictator of Cuba. Another name has been added to the long list of revolutionists killed and butchered since Machado's advent to power. This time it is a Communist, a Negro worker, SATEJA BROOKS, who it appears was killed the other day in Havana by the hirelings of reaction.

This new crime, not to speak of the continued persecution of all revolutionary Negro and Chinese workers, shows that the Dictator of Cuba is continuing his policy of terrorising the workers, hoping in this fashion to prevent any revolutionary move on the part of the workers of Cuba.

But Machado is badly mistaken if he thinks persecution and suppression will stay the development of the revolutionary movement. Though the workers' organisations are being persecuted, the leaders being killed in cold blood, their papers being closed down, accompanied by mass arrests and deportation of native workers as well as foreigners, signs are not wanting that the working masses of Cuba are rapidly veering over to the Left.

The recent repressions against the Negro workers of Cuba show plain enough that the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions here have now really got a footing among the rank and file, among all the Negro workers, exploited as they are to the bone in the sugar plantations and the factories.

In Cuba, like in all the other Republics on the Caribbean seaboard, the Americans have begun of late to introduce on a wide scale colored labor to take the place of the native workers. Thousands upon thousands of Negroes are being brought in from Haiti, San Domingo and Jamaica, to cut the present standards of the natives,---low as they are already. The Negroes are transported in ships specially chartered for this purpose and upon their arrival are divided among the planters, who with the assistance of the police and the State troops see to it that these men do not leave the plantations to look for better jobs.

As a matter of fact, the Government of Cuba tried to make out that it was bringing in Negro workers because there was a shortage of labor in the country. The reason is of course that the American Companies find it far more profitable to employ imported labor, for they have to pay the native workers 60 centavo per day, whereas the Negro workers on the plantations are paid anything under 40 centavo.

A strong campaign was carried out by the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party urging that the wages of the Negro and Chinese workers be the same as the whites; the Negroes to have the right to look for work in all the enterprises and industries of the country. Last May Day, the Communist Party was able to get the foreign workers to take part in the demonstration. The Chinese, and the Negro workers, too, marched down the streets of Havana side by side their Cuban fellow-workers, the demonstrations being headed by banners urging unity and solidarity between the foreign workers and the workers of Cuba.

There are hundreds of workers living in the Havana prisons today for having belonged to the Anti-Imperialist League and the Communist Party. But the revolutionary struggle continues. Although the first strikes were suppressed by violence, court-trials, arrests, and the murder of the strike leaders, several strikes have occurred recently in Cuba in which the workers put up a very stubborn fight. Besides the strikes of the boot and shoe operatives in Havana, the tomato-packers in Matanzas, the bakers in Guines, only just recently there was a strike of the workers in the Havana sugar refineries. This strike began in the middle of September 1929 and on October 17 it was still on. It was called by the Workers and Peasants' Federation of Cuba, affiliated to the Latin-American Confederation of Labor, as a protest against the introduction of a wage-cut. Altogether 323 workers took part in this strike, among whom were many unorganised workers. Recent information to hand shows that although Machado imprisoned 21 workers for taking part in the strike, he was unable to get the men to return to work.

What with the tyrannical regime, the severe depression that followed the break-down of the Government's financial policy has considerably worsened the position of the working-class and the petty-bourgeoisie. Unemployment is now widespread. The minimum wage of 1.50 peso per day, fixed by the Government, does not suffice to keep the body and soul together. Imports from the USA have fallen in view of the marked reduction of the purchasing power of the population.

Thanks to the "efforts" of Dictator Machado, Cuba until quite recently was a very citadel of reformism in Central America. But for the first time in many years the reformists were unable to get a hearing last May Day. The First of May demonstrations organised by the Communist Party and the National Confederation of Labor were more revolutionary and larger in scale than any demonstrations that had taken place during the last few years. Recent information received states that the Sixth C.A.F.L. Convention which was to be held in January 1930, has been put off indefinitely. In all probability it was decided to postpone this gathering in view of the way the reformists are being fought in all parts of Central America of late and the fact that the workers' organisations in Cuba completely condemned the idea of convening this Convention in Havana.

We are convinced that the murder of SANTIAGO BACOKS, the Negro Communist worker, will prove a revolutionising factor. It will unite the whole working class of Cuba, all the white and colored workers to struggle together against the class enemy. And there is no force that national reaction in the service of imperialism can put into the field that can stand up against the united front of the working class.

KORCBITZIN.

* *

UNDER THE DEFENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The colonial policy of the imperialists has inscribed more than one bloody page in the history of humanity. Many volumes can be filled with descriptions of the brutalities and ruthlessness to which the toilers of the colored races in the various parts of the world are subjected daily, whilst piling up ever-greater riches for their enslavers. In this short article it is our intention to relate the tragedy of a small Hot-tentot tribe, slowly dying from starvation in one of the reserves *of

*Reserves, territories set aside for the natives. Usually the worst lands are set aside for the reserves, the best being kept for the European colonists. Besides this the area of the reserve is limited and does not comply even to the very restricted requirements of the natives.

South West Africa.

This tribe, called the Bondels or Bondelzwarts, has been pushed out of the present Cape Province (Union of South Africa) and has migrated to South West Africa. Here it came under the power of Germany, who, following the example of other colonisers looked upon the Negroes as a race of people specially created by the Lord to work for the whites. Germany, however, was defeated in the world war, and South West Africa became a mandated territory of South Africa, which took upon itself the "holy mission of civilising", of ensuring "the welfare and development" of the backward people inhabiting the mandated territory. South West Africa, belonging to the mandate countries group C, should be administered according to the laws of the mandatory, that is, South Africa.

The unfortunate Bondels very soon began to experience the great delights of this mandate system, and to understand that they had fallen out of the frying pan of German exploitation into the fire of South African slavery.

The Government of South Africa, which has great experience in "civilising" the "savage" Negroes, zealously commenced to carry out its duties. It immediately levied taxes on the Bondels, including dog-taxes, which in reality implied that the natives were deprived of the possibility of getting additional supplies of food by hunting, as the reserve in which they lived was insufficient to feed the cattle necessary for the upkeep of the entire population. These heavy taxes were introduced with the only aim of forcing the Negroes to seek work outside the reserves, i.e., to go into slavery for the white farmers. The Bondels, however, well acquainted with the delights of serving for the whites, and naively hoping for the defence of the League of Nations, showed resistance, refusing to submit to the heavy taxation. Dissatisfaction started amongst the natives, and when the police wanted to arrest the leader of the Bondels, Abraam Morris, the Negroes tried to prevent this. This was sufficient cause for the sending of a punitive expedition against the unsubmissive tribe. The native population were subjected to an air bombardment, many women, children and old men perishing. The natives likewise lost half of their cattle. The refractory savages were defeated and "civilisation" was saved. This extermination of defenceless, and in comparison with the Europeans, unarmed people, took place as far back as 1922. We cannot say that the League of Nations did not react to this event. The question of the "uprising" of the Bondels, as this massacre was called officially, was a subject for special discussion at the Third Session of the Permanent Mandate Commission in 1923. The majority on the Commission were forced to recognise that the zealous South African administrators had provoked the uprising. This, however, was all that the League of Nations did for the mandated tribe. As formerly, they remain in their reserve; the natives are still burdened with the heavy taxes in order to force them to work for the whites. The Bondels turned out to be more stubborn than was expected, and preferred death from starvation in the reserve to slavery for the farmers, especially as they know that if they do agree to work their condition would hardly improve. The farmers officially agree to pay the natives for their work as cattle herdsmen from 7/6 to 15/- per month. In reality, however, the native having worked for several months for the farmer in many instances, will get one goat, and even more often nothing at all, as the cattle herdsman is responsible for all losses of cattle and is obliged to replace them. It is quite clear that the farmer can easily "prove" that he has lost something, and "legally" refuse to pay the wages owing. There is nobody to whom the native can complain against the farmers as no self-respecting representative of the authorities would defend the interests of the "savages".

At the present time from accounts appearing in the "Star" of October 28 and 29, the Bondels are in an extremely serious situation.

For some time the reserve has suffered from drought, which has resulted in the pasture lands and the sources of drinking water being considerably reduced. The cattle, the chief riches of the Bondels, exhausted

Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

by their long hunger and suffering from the lack of water, become easy prey to the cattle diseases so widespread at the present time in the reserve. The whole of the native population is literally starving, and as is stated by the whites themselves, in general it is to be wondered that the Bondels have succeeded in retaining their hold on life up to the present. At any rate it is recognised by all that they are doomed to die out, and that in all probability in the next 50 years they will disappear altogether.

The tragedy of the Bondels is not an exception. To a more or less greater extent the fate of the Bondels is the fate of all the natives of Africa. Are we to wonder then, at the dissatisfaction which is so noticeable in various colonial countries, and need we seek other causes but the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists to explain this dissatisfaction?

It has to be regretted but we must state that the international revolutionary labor movement pays insufficient attention to its colonial fellow-workers. It is necessary that the League Against Imperialism more actively show up all the horrors of the colonial oppression and take upon itself the initiative in organising a prolonged campaign of protest in all countries.

Each proletarian, each toiler, must be made aware of the horrors of colonial exploitation, and they should also understand that a considerable part of the responsibility for these horrors falls to the share of the Second International and its parties which support and defend the capitalist order, and that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all slavery, oppression and exploitation.

VICTOR.

o o

o

INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE U.S.A. @)

!!!

The contradictions bound up with the industrialisation of the South have in various ways affected the Negro problem and the position of the Negro population both in the "Black Belt" of the Southern States and the Northern industrial areas to which large numbers of Negroes had migrated. The twelve million Negroes in the USA comprise about 10% of the population of the country, but in the Southern States they form more than a quarter of the population, while in some parts, covering entire States, known as the "Black Belt", they comprise 50% and more.

The bulk of the Negro population are engaged in agriculture, cultivating commercial plants which demand (or rather demanded) the application of much manual labor. In these areas cotton is the staple product, then come tobacco, rice and sugar-cane.

The overwhelming majority of the Negroes in the Agricultural South are either tenant-farmers or laborers. Whereas in the United States as a whole the tenant farmers comprise 38% of the rural population, among the Negro population they comprise 76.2%, while among the Southern Negroes this percentage is as high as 80%. The great majority of the tenant farmers are share-croppers.

A bourgeois investigator of agrarian relations writes that in the cotton-growing districts, the Negro-croppers' conditions approximate more to hired laborers (than to tenant farmers), they receiving a part of their harvest as payment. The landowner usually supplies the cropper with farming tools, seeds, etc., frequently "advances" food, clothes and other articles, the cost of which, estimated at far above their market value, is deducted from the 50% of the harvest left the tenant-farmer.

EDITORIAL NOTE: This article was written before the USA stock market crash. At the present time with the development of the general crisis in the USA, the position of the Negro worker has gone from bad to worse.

The advances made by the owner in tools, clothes, etc., keep the Negro tenant-farmer constantly in debt, which, coupled with their legal and social status turns the bulk of the Negro population into veritable slave for their white masters. But whereas a healthy slave cost between \$1,500 and \$2,000 when the slave plantations were already a "respectable" institution in the country, the master, interested in "preserving" his capital, being prompted at least to feed his "working cattle" to keep them from "croaking", the landowner to-day merely endeavours to squeeze as much as he can out of the Negro tenants, evicting them when no longer of any use to be replaced by the numerous candidates of whom there are always more than enough among the Negroes. The difference between a worker and a Negro tenant farmer in the South is that the latter has to shoulder the exploitation of trading and financial capital, is subjected to all the risks of the fluctuating cotton market and the uncertain yield always highly susceptible to weather changes, pests, etc.

The 1920 census showed that there were 1,200,000 agricultural laborers in the Southern States, the majority being Negroes. However, as the census was taken during the winter months, there is no doubt that the figure is more like well over two millions. Their standard of life, is, on the whole, very much like that of the tenant farmer (and in this respect it would be difficult to lay down any clear line of demarkation between them). In the typical cotton districts (South Carolina and Georgia) they get about 20 dollars a month, in the other districts 22 or 23 dollars, these wages holding good only during the "season", which lasts only a few months. There are large numbers of women and children employed in the cotton-growing districts who usually receive four dollars a week. These wages are far below any of the recognised living minimums which means that these workers simply live in semi-starvation all the time. This is the average standard of life among the bulk of the Negroes in the agricultural South. They live in half-tumbled down shacks, where you will not find even a hint of those famous "American conveniences", so much advertised to-day, such as water-supply, sewerage, electricity, etc. The average sum expended on the education of a Negro child is five or six dollars a year, which is only a fraction of the sum spent on the education of the white children. Such, then, in rough outline are the economic and social conditions of a great section of the population in "these prosperous United States of America."

But apart from the extremely adverse economic conditions, which make existence an increasingly precarious business for the Negro, the black population are ostracised socially and morally. The whole economic, social and cultural life of the Southern States, the State machine, the municipalities and the courts are run with a firm hand by the white bourgeoisie and the landowners. The Negro petty-bourgeoisie are making some headway in the retail business and in some of the trades of secondary importance but the key positions in the banks, industry and transport, etc., are definitely closed to them.

And in the agricultural districts, too, you will find practically all the land and the means of production controlled by the descendants of the old slaveholders, who are still battenning on the toil of the grandchildren of the slaves of not so very long ago.

Of the three million farms in the Southern States in 1925, 2.3 millions, or more than 75%, belonged to the white farmers. This figure, however, falls short, apparently, of the true state of affairs, for other sources claim that there were only 160,000 Negro farmers who owned their own land. But as a matter of fact, practically all---about nine-tenths---of the Negro tenant-farmers and agricultural laborers are working for the white farmers. All the forces of the bourgeoisie and the landowners are directed to preserve this "undisputed right" to exploit these people to the bone. And this is done by an entire machine, a super-structure of numerous social, juridicial, cultural-welfare organisations which keep the Negro down, keep him suppressed, without any rights whatever,

forced to suffer insults and lynchings at the hands of his white masters. What changes have occurred in the position of the Negro population with the march of industrialisation in the South?

Doubtless industrial developments in the Southern States will hasten the disintegration of the agricultural trades, will lead to the further pauperisation and elimination of great sections of the rural population, especially the Negro population. Together with the general agricultural crisis, the floods and the pests, etc., the present industrial development must inevitably cut the last economic footholds from under the feet of the Negro tenant farmer.

During the last decade more than a million Negroes were compelled to migrate to the North. But apart from this migration, the number of Negroes has substantially increased in the Southern towns where they are only too glad to do the dirtiest, heaviest and the lowest-paid work going. Only a few of them get employment on the better grades of work, which are considered the monopoly of the whites. The fact that you have countless applicants for each job going still further worsens labor conditions. The bulk of the Negro workers are employed on "blind alley" work, with no prospect of improvement, while even more than the whites, they are a constant prey to anxiety and uncertainty of their jobs, being employed temporarily for the most part. The Negro worker is never sure of the morrow.

Like in the North, they live in the worst sections of the town, in the most squalid houses, paying relatively dearer for them than do the whites, as they are "undesirable tenants". One is immediately struck by the dirt and congestion in the Negro districts, the general squalor and abject poverty to be seen on every hand.

How will the industrialisation of the South affect the Negro population? Several liberal bourgeois investigators and, indeed, various opportunist elements consider that the new developments will lead to the absorption of large numbers of Negroes in the Southern industry, which will tend to weaken racial subordination, will make for the disentanglement of all those racial contradictions in modern American life and to that extent weaken the contradictions of American capitalism itself.

But these assertions fly in the face of the facts. The contrary is more like the truth. That the industrialisation of the South will tend to force scores and hundreds of thousands of Negro tenant farmers and croppers off the land, will tend to accelerate the general ruination of the Negro agricultural population, cannot be doubted for one moment. The subterranean agrarian migration going on in these areas will become more and more apparent.

The introduction of new machinery (which has already started) in the agricultural South, especially for cotton-growing, will prove another serious factor aggravating the general situation. As we stated earlier, successful cotton growing requires the application of much manual labor. A cotton farm needs twice the amount of labor of a dairy farm, three times the labor necessary to raise maize and four times the labor necessary, for example, on an average wheat farm in Kansas. You have to employ more "hands" to gather in the cotton harvest than is essential for any other process in agriculture. The possibility of mechanising this work would cut labor costs to such an extent that the all-round introduction of machinery---tractors, seeders and harvesters---would become very profitable. The remarkable improvements in the cotton harvesters observed during the last year promise to revolutionise conditions in the cotton-growing districts and consequently will profoundly modify the conditions and the very life of the rural Negro communities in the South.

With the absence of any economic possibility or prospect of cotton growing extending to a proportionate degree, the successful introduction of machinery will tend to displace considerable sections of the Negro tenant farmers and will considerably decrease the absolute number of agricultural laborers in the cotton-growing belt.

Further, the development of the Southern industry does not open any prospect whatever of large numbers of Negroes being absorbed in the new factories, at least to a degree that would appreciably offset the displacement of the farming population forced to seek a new means of making a livelihood.

Of course, the Negroes in the South, too, will take up new trades and large numbers will get employment in certain industries, especially in the mines and the steel plants, etc. We shall see as the strike movement of the Southern workers inevitably develops, the employers endeavouring from time to time to utilise the indirect pressure of Negro labor on working conditions to force down the standards of the whites, Negroes will be used as scabs and to displace certain categories of white labor.

But all these tendencies will not weaken in the slightest the agrarian migration that will inevitably take place and for the following reasons:

1. During the last few years the development of the industry in the South has been accompanied by an insignificant growth of the working population, whether regarded relatively or absolutely. But as present-day facts show there has been no increase but a relative slackening of production with a simultaneous rationalisation drive, the introduction of new speed-up systems, the use of electric power and other technical innovations. Obviously, these developments will inevitably tend to slow up still further the growth of the working population, which will become altogether stationary for certain industries and will ultimately give way to a tendency characteristic of the US in general, where a gradual reduction in the number of workers employed will set in even though the industry is actually increasing its output.

2. These tendencies will become apparent at a time when, far from being exhausted, the potential reserves of white labor in the industrial districts of the South will be increasing on account of the white tenant-farmer and small-holder being forced to "clear out" under the pressure of the developments referred to above. As long as large sections of these white workers are available it will be an exceedingly risky business for the employers to attempt to employ Negro labor on a wide scale, for the capitalists have for decades drilled it into the heads of the white population that they are superior to the Negro, that "the industry in the South is the monopoly of the white man", and that whites and Negroes can never be expected to work in the same shop together.

All attempts to displace white workers on an extensive scale with Negro workers would intensify and sharpen racial contradictions (which the employers have always fostered) to such an extent that they would outgrow the aim the capitalists had in view in keeping these racial prejudices alive and would inevitably threaten not only the "public peace", but the very foundations of bourgeois class domination itself.

Since Negro labor will be continually squeezed off the Southern farms and their absorption will at best take place very slowly, this will tend to increase migration to the North. But at the same time the growing "structural" unemployment will make the prospects of finding work in the Northern industrial districts increasingly problematical. And it will be the Negro work who will be the first to suffer when workers are laid off during depressions or when mass discharges are made, which have become common enough during the last few years.

L. RUBINSTEIN.

* * *

STRUGGLES OF NEGRO MINERS IN AMERICA

Fight Against Jim-Crowism.

The Southern Illinois Miners' Strike must be spread.

Every available force in the mine fields must be thrown into the fray against the police, gunmen and thugs and the state militia forces of the capitalist coal barons in order to win the struggle for better wage and working conditions, for a shorter working week and against the speed-up and rationalisation; for the building of a militant miners' union that stands for the complete equality of Negro workers, that is against racial discrimination, that turns the fighting capacities of the Negro workers into one solid phalanx against the capitalist oppressors.

Illinois has long been the scene of bloody class battles of the coal miners. It is upon the clear-cut issue of class struggle and class solidarity that the Negro miners must face the present situation in Illinois. American capitalists face the severest crisis in the history of the country. The stock market crash has set all industry trembling, class battles are raging in all sections of the country. Rationalisation is disorganising the Illinois coal industry, speeding up the workers and throwing thousands out of work. The bosses are meeting the workers with wage cuts and more rationalisation. Black and white workers must meet them with a united front.

Shoulder to Shoulder.

The full interest of the working class struggle demands that the white workers stand shoulder to shoulder with the Negro workers, that those who hold any vestige of race hatred throw it overboard, that they break down all barriers that keep black and white workers apart, that they put one solid front to the bosses, struggling not only for equal conditions and equal wages but for still better conditions and still higher wages.

The labor fakers---the Lewises, the Fishwicks and the Farringtons, etc.,---in line with President Green of the AF of L agree with the program announced by Hoover of class peace between the workers and the bosses, for peace in industry. They ask the workers not to strike for higher wages, nor to struggle against wage reductions. They go further with regards to Negro workers, they fail to promise them, they discriminate against them, they deny them equal conditions and opportunities.

In this struggle in Illinois all issues of the class struggle stand out in bold relief. The whole apparatus of the capitalist system---the police, the State militia, and the courts---is mobilised against the workers. The class issues are particularly sharp at the present stage of capitalist crisis, rationalisation and market crashes. They pass in review from the smallest working class demand to the capitalist State militia mobilised against the workers.

All Class Issues.

In the State legislature of Illinois are several Negro legislators who have been placed there by the votes of poor Negro workers. Now these workers find themselves deceived. These Negro legislators are agents of the capitalists. They have not raised one finger to prevent the use of State troops against the black and white miners. It is clear that the Negro legislators as well as white, under the democratic and republican parties, are nothing but agents and tools of these capitalist machines.

The National Miners' Union, the leader in the Illinois strike, is committed to the principle of equality and equal conditions for Negro workers, of struggle against racial discrimination. It stands for joint struggle and working class unity, it fights wage cuts and the speed-up, it fights to better the conditions of all workers in the mining industry.

The Trade Union Unity League of which the National Miners'

Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.